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THE SCOTTISH SERVICE BOOK OF 1637 AND ITS  
SUCCESSORS  
A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

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Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

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The English Book of Common Prayer, the second Edwardine liturgy, had been in general use in Scotland during the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, between 1557 and 1564. In the former year the leading reformers decided its use in the parish kirks. From 1564 until the accession of James VI to the English throne as James I, in 1603, the system of Calvin, Knox's Book of Common Order was in force throughout the land. An occasional attempt by King James, in 1596, to introduce episcopal government in the church of Scotland met with stern resistance on the part of Robert Bruce (1554-1631), the great Scottish presbyterian divine. In 1610, however, episcopacy was formally introduced in Scotland by the consecration at London, on October 21, of Bishops John Spottiswoode, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> This "first episcopacy" lasted from 1610 until 1638. In 1616 the General Assembly meeting at Aberdeen decreed "that a liturgy be made, and a form of divine service, which shall be read in euery church in common prayer." A committee of four ministers was appointed to prepare this liturgy. On behalf of this committee Peter Hewat (Howat) an Edinburgh minister and one of the four commissioners wrote out the draft of "A Form of Service to be used in all the parish churches of Scotland upon the sabbath day by the readers where there are any established, and where there are no readers, by the ministers themselves before they go to sermon." The draft was professedly a revision of the portions of the Book of Common Order, used in the public service on Sundays. The schedule was

<sup>1</sup> T. Hannan, "The Scottish Consecration in London in 1610," *Church Quarterly Review*, LXXI (1910), 387-414.

not printed at the time; but it is preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, and has been published, for the first time, by George Washington Sprott<sup>1</sup> in 1871 and, again, revised in 1901, in *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI*, Edinburgh (pp. 1-23). On August 28, 1618, General Assembly met at Perth and accepted, by a mere majority of a few the so-called five articles of Perth. They enforced kneeling at communion, private baptism, private communion, four holy days corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday, and episcopal blessing for children, i.e., confirmation. The assembly of Perth was the last General Assembly for twenty years, until 1638.

In 1619 King James received, through Bishop Laud, a new draft of a liturgy for the church of Scotland from Archbishop Spottiswoode, when the latter came to London during the spring of that year. The King examined it, made some changes, and gave it to Dean John Young, of Winchester, for a final revision. It was then returned to the Scottish archbishop. The manuscript draft was finally rejected by the King and his advisers and was not published. A second manuscript copy of the proposed liturgy became, in course of time, the property of the British Museum. It has corrections by a hand different from the one which wrote the manuscript. They are in a Calvinistic direction and were perhaps written by the bishop (Patrick Lindsay of Ross?) who presented this second copy. A few of the corrections show a different spirit and were possibly made by Laud on reading it over. It is now bound up with a copy of the Scottish Service Book of 1637 (*British Museum Catalogue: Liturgies*, col. 646; C. 36. g. 2). It is a cross between the English liturgy and that of Knox. It was printed by Sprott (*op. cit.*, pp. 37-110). It is quite possible that this second copy of the draft book is the one which Maxwell in 1629 brought to London on behalf of the Scottish bishops and at the request of King Charles I. Laud examined it for the King. He speaks of Maxwell as carrying back to Scotland a book containing the first series of alterations which had been

<sup>1</sup> Sprott (1829-1909) was a Scottish presbyterian divine and a careful liturgical scholar. His book, cited above, is a most learned and original work, broad and unprejudiced.

accepted in England.<sup>1</sup> Years after its first submission to King James in 1619, his son Charles was told that the troubled state of the church due to the enforcement of the five articles of Perth had put a stop to the printing and introduction of the liturgy. King James never ventured to attempt the introduction of a liturgy into Scotland, nor even the enforcement of the vestments and rites of the English church. The people could not be induced to a conformity with the articles of Perth.

In 1620 the Ordinal for the church of Scotland was printed by Thomas Finlayson at Edinburgh. It recognizes only two orders, bishops and ministers. Copies of this Ordinal are now very rare. For this reason it has been conveniently reprinted by Sprott (*op. cit.*, pp. 111-131). It can also be found in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, selected and edited by David Laing ([Edinburgh, 1844], I, 597 ff.). A new Ordinal is said to have been published in 1636, but no copy of it is known to have survived.

In the year 1633 King Charles went to Scotland to be crowned at Edinburgh. It was during this visit formally resolved that a new liturgy with some few variations from the English should be drafted in Scotland and transmitted for approval to the king and to some of the English bishops. Until the final adoption of the new service book, in 1636, editions of the liturgy of the Church of England were printed by Robert Young, printer to the king's majesty, in 1633 and in 1634, 8vo and 12mo. This was evidently done upon the advice of Archbishop Laud, who desired to introduce the English liturgy without change into the service of the church of Scotland. Laud, however, did not succeed in this endeavor. The Scottish bishops wanted a book of their own. The changes proposed by them and sent to England were considered by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Matthew Wren, and were then submitted to King Charles. With his own hand the King is said to have indicated in a copy of the English Prayer Book, bearing date as late as 1637, almost all the changes that were actually introduced

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Laud to the bishop of Dunblane concerning the communion in the Royal Chapel, the Book of ordination and the Liturgy, reprinted by Cooper in *The Book of Common Prayer . . . Commonly Known as Laud's Liturgy*, Preface, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

and printed. The copy containing these latest alterations and additions was sent to John Maxwell, bishop of Ross. Maxwell transmitted it to Archbishop Spottiswoode. The latter, by the way, was the son of John Spottiswoode, one of the compilers of the *First Book of Discipline* and superintendent of Lothian. From Spottiswoode the book soon found its way back to England, probably brought there by the archbishop when he fled from Scotland in 1638. Eventually it became the property of William Alexander Anthony Archibald Douglas, eleventh duke of Hamilton (1811-63) and was sold at the Hamilton sale, May 1-9, 1884, to the Earl of Roseberry. The King had noted every change actually made, except those in the order of the communion prayers, which, however, his alterations in the prayers themselves prove that he had allowed.<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish service book reached its final form and was authorized by royal warrant October 18, 1636. It was then promulgated by act of the Scottish privy council and by royal proclamation of December 20, 1636. The proclamation, peculiar to the Scottish book, took the place occupied in the English book of the day by Queen Elizabeth's act of uniformity of 1559, and by the proclamation of King James I of March 5, 1603/4. The new service book was chronologically preceded by the new court of high commission for Scotland and by the new book of canons, both highly unpopular. Neither liturgy nor canons were submitted to the diocesan or national synod of the Scottish church. They were to be accepted simply on the prerogative of royal authority.

The Scottish service book was issued only twice, and both times in the same year, 1637, printed by Young.<sup>2</sup> The workmanship has been considered by the best authorities as far superior to those printed in England at that time.<sup>3</sup> It is now quite rare. The following is the title of the copy in the Benton collection of the

<sup>1</sup> Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii, and xlvi, 'The Dalmeny Prayer-Book, containing, in the handwriting of King Charles I, the latest alterations and additions, approved by his Majesty for the Scottish Book.'

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Dowden gave an account of a suppressed additional edition in *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*.

<sup>3</sup> Watson, *History of Printing* (1713), and Dobson, *The Bassandynne Bible* (1887), pp. 171-72.

Boston Public Library: 'The | Booke of | Common Prayer, | and | Administration of the | Sacraments. | And other parts of divine Service for | the use of the Church of | Scotland. | [Vignette: the Scottish thistle imperially crowned]. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Robert Young,<sup>1</sup> | Printer to the | Kings most Excellent Majestie. | M. DC XXXVII. | Cum Privilegio" | Blackletter. 150 unnumbered leaves. Signature a and b in eights, for the preliminary matter; text, A-Q in eights, R six leaves. R 6, obverse, med.: Finis, reverse blank Page of type 6 by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ; paper, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  by 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches. Title and calendar in black and red. The reverse of the title-page contains: the contents of this book. The Prayer Book is followed by the Psalter, with a special title-page reading: "The | Psalter, | or, | Psalmes of David: | According | to the last Translation in King | James | his time.<sup>2</sup> | Pointed as they shall be said or sung through- | out all the Churches of Scotland. | Edinburgh, | . . . Robert Young . . . | Anno M DC xxxvi.' | Blackletter. 78 unnumbered leaves. Signatures aa-ii in eights, kk six leaves. The fact that the last signature has the first four folios signed kk<sub>1</sub>, kk<sub>2</sub>, kk<sub>3</sub>, and kk<sub>4</sub>, thus showing on the example of the preceding signatures that it was originally intended for a signature of eight leaves; and, furthermore, the fact that at the bottom of the last page (kk<sub>6</sub>, reverse) we find the catchword "Certaine" proves that the two leaves containing the beginning of "Certaine Godly Prayers to be used for sundry purposes" were to be the last two leaves of signature kk. The prayers were omitted at the king's command; for, in the margin of the 1637 English prayer book, mentioned above, the king had inserted here an X, and added in his own hand, 'His Majesty comāds that these prayers following, or any other [for they are all different in the several editions] be all left out and not printed in

<sup>1</sup> Young was a London printer, appointed April 12, 1632, King's printer for Scotland, in succession to Thomas Finlayson (died 1627). He acquired the plant of Finlayson's heirs and commenced printing in Edinburgh in 1633. He apparently did not come to Scotland himself, but sent Evan Tyler to manage his Edinburgh office. In 1638, after the prayer book troubles, he gave up his Edinburgh business and sold off the printing materials.

<sup>2</sup> The Authorized Version of 1611, of which the first Scottish edition was printed by Young in 1633. The Psalter in the 1637 service book, as stated, was not pointed in spite of the orders of King Charles and Archbishop Laud.

y<sup>e</sup> Liturgye.<sup>1</sup> The earliest copies of the Scottish service book contained, apparently by an oversight, the godly prayers, for there is a copy in the British Museum Library (C. 36. g. 1) having the signature *kk* complete. Before the book was issued for use, it was decided to cut out these two leaves. The catchword, however, remained in the earlier of the two issues of the book. It was deleted in the later issue, signature *kk* was rearranged, so as to be complete in six leaves and the catchword 'Certaine' was omitted.<sup>2</sup>

The earlier issue has in the rubric following the *Venite* (when the people respond to the *Gloria Patri*, as it was in the beginning, &c.) the words 'Every one standing up, &c.' These words were omitted in the second issue. In the two issues the earlier reads 'used and said' in the *Benedictus* rubric of the morning prayer (Sig. A4, reverse, line 1 of text); the later issue reads 'said or sung.'

The Psalter issued with the service book was set up and printed four times, each differing from the others. The reading of the title of the Benton copy appears to be the earliest. The other three read (2) . . . . after the translation . . . . sung or said; (3) . . . . according to the last translation . . . . as they shall be said or sung; and (4) . . . . after the Translation set forth by authority . . . . as it shall be said or sung. The first issue of the four states has in sig. hh 3 the wrongly printed leaf in which a line in verse 30 and the whole of verse 31 of Psalm 109 is omitted and ends with the catchword "Yea." The earliest special copies of this state were put out in April, 1637, for use in the Chapel Royal. The whole Psalter was set up anew after the first impression had been printed off. There were, as stated, three other impressions; the title-pages of the last two were reprinted. In none of the different impressions is the Psalter pointed in the musical sense of the word; nay, the title-page itself is altered in all but the first impression, in order to make it correspond with the

<sup>1</sup> Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. xliii; Clay, *Liturgical Services, Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer, Set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1847), p. xx, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The J. P. Morgan library contains four copies of the Scottish service book, of which one, a large folio and ending at 'Certaine,' was originally Archbishop Laud's own copy. Another, not containing the catchword, is followed by King James's metrical translation of the Psalms (1636). It is a small folio. Signature *kk* is rearranged, so as to be complete in six leaves.

absence of such pointing. The word 'pointed' is omitted, and, 'as they shall be sung or said,' or 'as it shall be sung or said' put in its place. Other changes were made. The translation of the Bible of 1611 is described as not simply 'the last in King James his time,' but as 'set forth by authority in King James his time of blessed memory.' The later issues have the corrected leaf for hh 3, and omit the catchword 'Certaine.' The Psalter ends with 'Finis,' above the ornament.

Part 3, likewise with special title-page, reads: 'The | Psalmes | of King David: | Translated by King | James. | London: | Printed by Thomas Harper. | 1636.' Blackletter; (1), 147 numbered pages. Title in an elaborate compartment in which are introduced the fleur-de-lis, rose and thistle, and the lion and the unicorn; reverse blank. Text, signature B-N, in sixes; O two leaves, reverse of second leaf blank. The psalms are in verse, with musical notes prefixed to several. Parts 1 and 2 have numerous woodcut-letters, Part 3 only a few.

While it is a fact that at the command of King Charles, Archbishop Laud and Bishops Matthew Wren, of Norwich, and William Juxon, of London, were associated with the Scottish bishops in the preparation of this service book, it is equally a fact that the archbishop's explicit and often expressed wish was to introduce the English book without any changes. His policy was to have one church in all the parts of the king's dominions with the same creed, the same hierarchy, and, if possible, with the same form of worship. It is a common mistake, therefore, to call this service book 'Archbishop Laud's book.' If it were to be named after any one man it should be known as "Maxwell's liturgy." For Bishop John Maxwell, of Ross, was the most zealous worker for its preparation and publication and introduction. He was, in this endeavor, ably assisted by the careful liturgiologist, Bishop James Wedderburne, of Dunblane. To the latter, probably, are due most of the liturgical features which characterize the service book. He was a descendant of the authors of the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' and of 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis.' Laud's liturgical work was enshrined not in the Scottish service book, but in the settlement of 1661, which Gladstone aptly described as the 'Reformation settlement of



the Church of England.' Some important changes were made in the text during the preparation of the book. We mention here (1) the Communion office is brought more nearly into accord with the first Edwardine book, especially as to the invocation and the commemoration of the faithful departed;<sup>1</sup> (2) a retranslation of the Athanasian Creed, thus anticipating and happily meeting some of the difficulties that have since been raised with respect to this creed; (3) 'priest' in the rubrics is changed to 'presbyter.' Instead of the combination of the English book 'priests and deacons' we find 'presbyters and ministers of the church';<sup>2</sup> (4) the calendar records the names of certain Scottish saints, e.g., Columba, Ninian, Serf, Queen Mary, &c.; (5) the Epistles and Gospels are set down according to the new (i.e., King James) translation, as is also the Psalter; (6) 'Glory be to Thee, o Lord' is ordered to be said before the Gospel, and 'Thanks be to Thee, o Lord' after it. All these features which most distinguish this liturgy from the other Anglican Books of Common Prayer were of Scottish provenance. (7) The use of the "Apocrypha" is reduced to a minimum.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the metrical translation of the Psalms by King James Sir Roundell Palmer (1812-95), first earl of Selborne and one of the foremost authorities of the nineteenth century on English hymnology, states in his article 'Hymns,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.; XII [1891], 590, col. 1),<sup>4</sup> that "King James I. conceived the project of himself making a new version of the Psalms, and appears to have translated thirty-one of them, the correction of which together with the translation of the rest he entrusted to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling [1567?-1640]. Sir William having completed his task, King Charles the First (after having it examined and approved by several archbishops and bishops of England, Scotland, and Ireland) caused it to be

<sup>1</sup> See, especially Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-78.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Marshall, *The Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.*, (Oxford, 1881), chap. ii, 'Meaning of the Term Priest,' pp. 46-60; and here, especially, pp. 48, 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> For other changes and characteristics, see Brightman, *The English Rite*, pp. clxxxvii-clxxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Pages 148-49 of the reprint of his article in book form, entitled *Hymns, Their History and Development in the Greek and Latin Churches, Germany and Great Britain* (London & Edinburgh: Black, 1892), (8), 216 pp. 12mo.

printed in 1631 at the Oxford University Press as the work of King James;<sup>1</sup> and by an order under the royal sign manual, recommended its use in all Churches of his dominions. In 1634 he enjoined the Privy Council of Scotland not to suffer any other Psalms 'of any edition whatever' to be printed or imported into the kingdom. In 1636 it was republished in an entirely different form and was attached to the famous Scottish service book, with which the troubles began in 1637. It need hardly be added that the king did not succeed in bringing the Psalter into use in either kingdom." It cannot be denied that James had no small reputation in his own day as a conversationalist, prose writer and master of short verses, most of which have since been reprinted.<sup>2</sup>

The first edition of this metrical translation was apparently published in London about 1625/26; the 1631 edition, printed by William Turner (319 pp., 12mo), being thus the second. Many of the Psalms in the edition published with the Scottish Service book differ from those in the edition of 1631. An edition published in London about 1637, but without place or date on title-page, reads: The | Psalmes | of | King | David. | Translated | by | King James. | Cum Privilegio Regiae | Maiestatis. (4), 381 pp. Small 8vo.<sup>3</sup> By a printer's error folio 178 follows immediately upon 157, the text, however, is continuous. The frontispiece in this edition, as well as that in the 1631 output, is the work of William Marshall, the most prolific of early English engravers. The 1637 service book became soon a rarity; for, in 1718, Rev. Mr. Peck, envoy of the English non-jurors, writing to the Scottish bishop William Falconer states that 'the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 was scarce and costly.'<sup>4</sup>

The edition of 1637 was reprinted, in small 8vo, without preface or introduction, in 1712, the year of the Toleration Act, by James Watson (Edinburgh) at the expense of the Earl of Winton. It was

<sup>1</sup> See Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books*, I, 152, 153, and A. F. Westcott's introduction, p. lxxxviii of his edition of *New Poems of James, of England* (New York, 1911).

<sup>2</sup> Compare, also, John Holland, *Psalmists of Britain*, I (1843), 251-57.

<sup>3</sup> A copy in the Benton Collection was bought from the Hoe library.

<sup>4</sup> George Hickes, the learned nonjuring titular bishop of Thetford (died 1715) reprinted the service book in his *Two Treatises* (1707-11). These, again are published in Hickes' works (*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*) (Oxford, 1847-48).

followed by a 'paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, by King James the VI' (449 pp.). The book was perhaps intended for actual use by the nonjuring clergy and congregations, and in Earl Winton's chapel at Tranent. The reprint is said to be very carefully done. The 'nominal prayers' were reproduced in this edition exactly as they stood in 1637, 'King Charles,' 'Queen Mary,' and 'Prince Charles' appearing in the printed text. A copy of this issue is in the J. P. Morgan library.

During the nineteenth century and the present several reprints were put out, of which we mention (1) The Book of Common Prayer, as printed at Edinburgh, 1637. Commonly called Archbishop Lauds. London. William Pickering, 1844. Blackletter. Small folio. It is one of the companion volumes of the sumptuous edition of the 'Victoria Prayer Book.' (2) The Liturgy, set forth for the use of the church of Scotland. In *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, or the several editions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. By William Keeling. London. Pickering, 1842. New edition, 1851. (3) *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ . . .*, edited by Rev. Peter Hall. Volume 2: The Scottish Prayer Book. Bath. 1847. (3) 246 pp. 12mo. (4) The Liturgy of 1637. Commonly known as Laud's Liturgy (1637). Edited, with historical introduction and illustrative notes, by Rev. Professor James Cooper, D.D. Edinburgh and London. Blackwood. 1904. lxiii, 305 pp. [Church Service Society Publications.] 12mo. The edition is well printed and very convenient. The introduction deals at length with the relations of Laud to the production of the book and disposes of the oft-repeated legend concerning his responsibility for it. The notes deal chiefly with the relation of the Scottish book to the successive revisions of the English liturgy and to the Presbyterian order of service, and with contemporary criticism of the book of 1637.

The new liturgy, called by John Row (1568-1646) a 'Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service Book,' and the Canons, promulgated May 23, 1635, and published early in 1636, were most unpopular and created violent opposition. "There can be no doubt, I fear, that the Scottish Liturgy, like the Book of Canons, was unconstitutionally introduced into the Church of Scotland; 'brought in

without warrant from our Kirk,' are the words of the Scots commissioners and few will deny that a tame acquiescence in a proceeding so outrageous, would have been equally fatal to our civil liberties and to that authority in sacred things, which the church has received from her Divine King."<sup>1</sup>

All Scotland was aflame over the introduction of canons and liturgy, and over the act of revocation. Every true Scot, nobility and gentry first, and then the people at large, signed the national league and covenant, drawn up, in part, in 1587, and now, in March, 1638, renewed and enlarged, embodying (a) Craig's, *The King's Confession* (1581), (b) various reforming acts of parliaments, and (c) a new covenant. The compact which they signed after the habit of that nation when deeply moved, had been drawn up by Alexander Henderson, the most influential of their kirk ministers, and by Archibald Johnstone, better known by his subsequent title of Lord Warriston. It was fully revised and approved by Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes. The people were ready to shed more than ink and tears. They brushed aside the offer of the king to retreat, to revoke high commission, canons, and prayer book too. They would fain be done with bishops as well. A general assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, swept them away root and branch, and with them ultimately the sovereignty of the king.

Story goes that the use of this prayer book in the cathedral church of St. Giles, 'The great church' of Edinburgh, was brought to an abrupt end by a woman named Jenny (Jeannie) Geddes, who flung her stool at the clergyman's head, David Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, on the day of the introduction of 'the Buke,' on the seventh Sunday after Trinity, July 23, 1637. The tradition has long been abandoned as a myth<sup>2</sup> and has been disproved by careful historians. It is therefore rather surprising that some historians of the American Episcopal Church, as late as 1912, believe and published it as an actual occurrence.

Of the many books and pamphlets published in opposition to the new service book we mention especially, 'A parallel or briefe

<sup>1</sup> Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> See, especially, G. R. Gardiner, *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I*, I (1882),

comparison of the liturgie with the Masse-book, the breviarie, the Ceremoniall, and other Romish ritualls. Where is clearly and shortly demonstrated, not only that the Liturgie is taken for the most part word by word out of those Antichristian writts; but also that not one of the most abominable passages of the Masse can in reason be refused by any who cordially imbrace the Liturgie as now it stands, and is commented by the Prime of our Clergie. All made good from the testimonies of the most famous and learned liturgick writers both Romish and English. By R. B. K. Seene and allowed. London. Thomas Paine. 1641.' The book is a strenuous attack on Archbishop Laud and on the Scottish as well as on the English prayer book. The author complains bitterly that the communion service begins with the Lord's Prayer, which is only the *Pater Noster* in English, and, therefore, Romish. He also maintains that our service is Romish because it contains the *Ave Maria* 'potentially,' inasmuch as 'Mr. Stafford' had printed a book in which he said that we ought to say 'Hail Maries.' 'Mr. Stafford' was Anthony Stafford (1587-1645?), and the book in which he advocates the use of the 'Hail Mary' is 'The Femall Glory: or, the Life and Death of Our Blessed Lady, the holy Virgin Mary. London. 1635.' He does not state exactly 'that we ought to say Hail Maries,' but he strongly implies it. He seems to have always been an Anglican.

The R. B. K. was Robert Baillie of Kilwinning. He was born at Glasgow in 1599 and was one of the most learned and influential of the earlier Scottish presbyterian divines. He received orders in 1622, not from the Presbyterian church of Scotland, but from Archbishop James Law of Glasgow. In 1637 the archbishop requested him to preach a sermon in the Scottish metropolis in support of the canons and the service book. He refused to do so, and broke away from episcopacy. At the time of his death, in 1662, he was principal of Glasgow University.

After The Restoration in 1660/1 the Church of England revised and re-established her prayer book. In this work the ill-fated Scottish service book was unexpectedly and manifoldly influential. It assisted the Caroline revisers to raise the tone of the English book, by various significant though gentle alterations, and in this

way it strengthened materially the hold of catholic belief and devotion on the hearts of the English people.<sup>1</sup>

In Scotland the restored episcopal church, the second episcopacy, 1661-1688 (1662-1690?), worshiped for the most part without a liturgy. The prayer book of 1637 was never officially restored in any of the cathedrals or in the college chapels of Scotland, although portions of it may have been adopted as in the form of the morning and evening service drawn up by Henry Scougal for the cathedral of Aberdeen, republished so conveniently in Rev. Peter Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, (Vol. II, No. 3): 'The Morning and Evening Service of the Cathedral church of Aberdeen.' It is generally known as Scougal's Aberdeen service. Henry Scougal (1650-1678) was the son of Patrick Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen (1607-1681). He composed the service which was in use until the revolution in 1688, when the Presbyterians would no longer allow 'such superstition as a written prayer.' The forms were preserved by William Orem in his book *A description of the Chanonry, Cathedral and King's College of Old Aberdeen in the years 1724 and 1725, and long after Orem's death quite accurately printed*. Aberdeen, 1791. 12mo.

When the church of Scotland was disestablished in 1688/9, it adopted after some years from the book of 1637 a communion office which, passing through several revisions, become the standard of a deeply earnest churchmanship and imparted one of the main features to the American rite.

It is a matter of record, as shown by Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (1861) (III, 358-60, 368-69) that the English Book of Common Prayer was more widely used in Scotland during the reign of Queen Anne than is usually known. The English and the Scottish liturgies differed little except in the office for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Inasmuch as many preferred in this particular service the Scottish office, there may be traced within a few years after the period of Queen Anne's reign the commencement of that peculiar arrangement and adaptation of liturgical forms which afterward became known as the Scottish Communion Office.

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Brightman, *The English Rite*, pp. ccvii-ccviii.

A reprint of 'The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, for the use of the Church of Scotland. Authorised by K. Charles 1. anno 1636,' from the 1637 edition, without title-page, year, or place of publication is republished by Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica* (V, 81-119). It is commonly supposed to have been originally edited by Bishop James Gadderar, of Aberdeen (1655-1733), or Bishop Thomas Rattray, of Dunkeld, in 1723. As a matter of fact the first dated edition was published in 1722, Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson, His Majestys Printer. MDCC XXII. 24 pp. It is the first of the well-known 'wee bookies.' In 1724 Gadderar edited 'The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland. As far as concerneth the Ministration of the Holy Sacrament. Authorized by K. Charles I. Anno 1636.' Edinburgh. Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman. 24 pp. 8vo. It is reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 123-43). The first re-fashioned edition after Gadderar's death was that of 1735, printed at Aberdeen (?) by two booksellers as a private venture. It was followed by others, in 1743 (reprinted by Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-68), 1752, 1755, and 1759. The 1735 edition embodied the changes which took place in actual use, but which up to that date the celebrant had marked on the margin of his copy by means of pen and ink. In this edition the parts of the 1637 service are printed in the order in which they are now commonly said, viz., with the prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church' after the consecration. There were, in addition, certain alterations, e.g., the words 'militant here in earth' are omitted, and 'which we now offer unto Thee,' are added in the prayer of oblation. These 'usagers'<sup>1</sup> changes persisted in most subsequent editions,

<sup>1</sup> Here it is that we see most distinctly the influence of the English Nonjurors upon the liturgy of the Scottish episcopal church. Nonjurors were those members of the Church of England who refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary in 1689, on the ground that they were bound to King James II. Their number included nine bishops and four hundred priests. A separate organization was soon formed and nonjuring congregations continued to exist until the death of their last bishop Charles Boothe, in 1805. The separation introduced many changes from the usages of the Established Church. Soon a special mode of worship was compiled, and here it was that the apple of discord was thrown into their midst in the shape of what is technically called the 'usage controversy.' The controversy which arose in 1716 divided the Nonjurors into two parties called the 'Usagers' and the 'Non-usagers.' The former

and ultimately found a place in the edition of 1764. The 1755 edition, brought out by William Falconer (Falconar), of Edinburgh, contained alterations beyond its predecessors. This edition is reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 169-91); but, according to the late Bishop Dowden, *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office* (p. 95, n. 1) Hall is wrong in assuming (*Fragmenta Liturgica*, Vol. I, p. liv) that the edition of 1755 was issued by Andrew Gerard, bishop of Aberdeen. The office of 1755 is distinctly traceable to the influence of the great work of Thomas Rattray, the learned bishop of Dunkeld (1684-1743), *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, 1744.<sup>1</sup> Prior to this standard work all the Scottish

were headed by Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) and Thomas Brett (1667-1743), the latter by Nathanael Spinckes (1653-1727). Spinckes and his party insisted that they were obliged to adhere to the present liturgy and could not make, nor allow others to make, any alterations in it. They all assigned the very highest importance to the Holy Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship. The usages, five in number, contended for and against by the two parties were (1) the addition of water to the wine, the mixed chalice; (2) prayers for the faithful departed; (3) prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the consecrated elements; and (4) the oblatory prayer, offering the elements to the Father as symbols of His Son's body and blood. These four points were contained in the first liturgy of Edward VI and were characteristic of the worship of the church in the early ages. These four were sometimes called 'the greater usages,' in distinction from certain other usages looked upon as of less importance, viz., (1) baptism by threefold immersion; (2) unction in confirmation; (3) anointing of the sick; and (4) reservation of the sacrament for the sick. Both sides believed in the restoration of King Edward's communion office as contained in the liturgy of 1549. Their contentions were based upon their interpretation of this communion office and the question at issue was whether prayers and directions of Edward VI's first liturgy having been altered or omitted by later revisions should be restored or not. The Usagers contended for a restoration, the Non-usagers were content with the liturgy as it stood at the time of the separation. The controversy began moderately but, as is the way of controversies, gained rapidly in force and vehemence. While the controversy was at its height, the 'Usagers' published the well-known Communion-Office of 1718. In this book, besides other alterations, the prayer for the church was placed after the consecration and oblation. The invocation of the Holy Ghost was placed after the words of institution.

<sup>1</sup> Rattray was successively bishop of Dunkeld and of Edinburgh. He was one of the straightest of Nonjurors and sided with Hickey and Collier in the controversy about the 'usages.' His studies confirmed him, also, in the conviction that the order of the parts of the prayer of consecration which had been adopted in the Nonjurors' Office of 1718 was the order of the liturgy of the church in the earliest days of Christianity. At the request of a friend, Rev. Robert Lyon, he prepared in Greek and English his best-known work, which was published a year after his death, and is now exceedingly rare. It is *'The ancient liturgy of the church of Jerusalem,*



liturgies had the invocation of the Holy Ghost in the wrong place, a mistake originally due to Archbishop Cranmer's misunderstanding of the Latin canon when he wrote out the form of consecration for the prayer book of 1549. Rattray and his contemporaries shifted the invocation to the end of the consecrating formula, which we see in the edition of 1764, the standard of the finest liturgy in the English language now in actual use, primitive in structure, catholic in arrangement, yet modern in its comprehensive brevity, produced by the Scottish church when, under the bitterest persecution by the English government it was reduced to a 'shadow of a shade,'

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being the liturgy of St. James, freed from all latter additions and interpolations of whatever kind, and so restored to its original purity: by comparing it with the account given, in 347 A.D., of that liturgy by St. Cyril, presbyter and afterward bishop of Jerusalem, in his fifth mystagogical catechism, and with the Clementine liturgy, &c. Containing in so many different columns: (1) the liturgy of St. James, the assumed first head of the Church of Jerusalem, as we have it at present, the interpolations being only printed in a smaller character; (2) the same liturgy without these interpolations, or the ancient liturgy of the church of Jerusalem; (3) St. Cyril's account of that liturgy in his fifth mystagogical catechism; (4) the Clementine liturgy; (5) so much of the corresponding parts of the liturgies of St. Mark (Alexandria), St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, as may serve for illustrating and confirming it. With an English translation and notes, as also an appendix containing some other ancient prayers, of all which an account is given in the preface. London. Printed by James Bettenham. M. DCC. XLIV. xx, 122 pp. 8vo.

Cyril, of Jerusalem, was born about 315 A.D., and died, probably, in 386 A.D. He spent his whole life in Jerusalem, where, in time, he became bishop. About the year 347, (348, Maclean) he preached at the Easter festival the discourses which are known under the name of mystagogical lectures (*catecheses mystagogicæ*), i.e., instruction introducing candidates into the knowledge of the mysteries, a name applied to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c. The fifth of these lectures includes a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, and it aims at explaining to the catechumens the reasons for the various parts of the service. The washing of hands, the kiss of peace, the prayers, the responses of the people, and the administration of the Eucharist. It is, in a word, a sermon to a class of young people, explaining the nature of the church service, forms which had existed before him for a long time. In many respects it agrees with the communion office of the Book of Common Prayer.

The Clementine liturgy: The most primitive of the early Greek liturgies is that body of prayers, found in the eighth book of the pseudo-Clementine constitutions. It does not, in the strict sense of the word, constitute a liturgy, since its forms are designed, not so much for the people, as for the officiating minister. They were never published in early days, but only privately circulated. Nevertheless, when viewed in this light, they possess a marked value of their own for their character and the indications of a high antiquity clearly observed in them. This liturgy probably exhibits the worship of the church, as it was in the first half of the third century, reaching back

as Sir Walter Scott put it.<sup>1</sup> Be it remembered here that the bill for the repeal of the penal laws which had oppressed the Scottish church for many years, was not introduced into parliament until 1792.

During the early eighteenth century the Scottish clergy, as mentioned, used the communion service from the 1637 edition, gradually modifying and improving it under the influence of the careful liturgical studies of the Nonjurors. Led by Rattray the Scottish bishops brought the liturgy into the form found in the edition of 1764 with the primitive and at one time almost universal arrangement in the consecration service of (a) recital of the words of institution, (b) prayer of oblation, and (c) invocation of the Holy Ghost. Then follow (d) the prayer for the church on earth

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quite probably to the time of Tertullian. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (I, xliii), states: 'We conclude . . . that the Clementine liturgy is constructed on the Antiochene scheme and includes the Antiochene *diakonika*, worked over and expanded by the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, who is also the pseudo-Ignatius, and filled in with prayers which, whatever sources they may include, are very largely the work of the same compiler.' According to the latest writers the date of the Clementine literature is attributed to the fourth century (Dorn Butler in *Journal of Theological Studies*, X, 457; Hort, *Clementine Recognitions* [London, 1901], p. 130).

There were in use in the early Syrian and Egyptian churches three principal and most venerable forms of service, viz., those of St. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, from 370 to 379; Gregory, the theologian; and Cyril of Alexandria. Of these the first was the oldest pattern. It included, also, the Basilian liturgy of the Alexandrian church and the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which are only variations of it. It was more widely in use throughout the East than any other; everywhere, indeed, except in Jerusalem, where the Liturgy of St. James was used, and in those churches in Alexandria which clung to the pretended Liturgy of St. Mark. St. Basil was eminent alike as theologian, pulpit orator, church leader and saint, the most illustrious light among the constellation of brilliant men that adorned the church of the fourth century. He reduced the extant various and less perfect sacramental liturgies, differing in different churches, to one form, to which his great name gave a currency that enabled it soon to set the others at naught. That this liturgy was afterward successively enlarged, modified, interpolated, &c., cannot be denied; but these later interpolations and changes are the best proof to its greater relative antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> "Good collections of the 'wee bookies' are preserved in the theological college library of the Scottish Episcopal church, Edinburgh; in the library of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; the Forbes library at Coates Hall, and in the private collection of Mr. F. C. Eeles," Principal Perry of Edinburgh. *The Bibliography of the Scottish liturgy*, by Eliza H. Dowden and Francis C. Eeles. Privately printed, 1918, 11 pp., 12mo, gives an almost complete list of the Communion Office from the year 1722 to 1914.

and commemoration of the faithful departed, and (e) the Lord's Prayer. This is the order found in the earliest liturgies known, and persists to this day in all Eastern churches. It is found, likewise, in the Nonjurors' liturgy of 1718, in the preparation of which Rattray, then in London, assisted materially; and in Deacon's *Devotions* . . . , of 1734. It is probably represented, though with great obscurity in the Roman Catholic liturgy which, to be sure, is dislocated in its order and almost disfigured by the ceremonial acts which grew up in the Middle Ages around the narrative of the institution at a time when no one knew anything about liturgies.<sup>1</sup>

The edition of 1764 was made under the presidency of Primus William Falconer, bishop of Edinburgh, and of Robert Forbes, bishop of Ross and Caithness (1708-1775). Its title reads: The | Communion-Office | for the use of the | Church | of | Scotland, | as far as concerneth the | Ministration | of that | Holy Sacrament. | Edinburgh. | Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head. | MDCCLXIV. 24 pp. It was published in 12mo and in 8vo. An accurate reprint of the octavo edition, in reduced form, is given in Dowden, *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office* (1884; pp. 133-56), another in Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, volume 5, pp. 193-216. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-24 contains variations from a copy which is said to have belonged to, and been used by, Bishop John Alexander of Dunkeld (died 1776), the immediate successor of Rattray.

The Scottish prayer of consecration was adopted in the American rite, and has thus spread over a very large part of the Anglican communion.

In none of these 'wee bookies' was the name of the editor printed until Bishop Skinner's in 1800,<sup>2</sup> which is reprinted by Hall

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, chap. iii, pp. 47-56; L. M. O. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1903); Edmund Bishop, 'The Genius of the Roman Rite,' in *Essays on Ceremonial*, pp. 287-307; reprinted in his posthumous *Liturgica Historica* (1918), pp. 1-19.

<sup>2</sup> John Skinner was born in 1744. He was consecrated bishop coadjutor of Aberdeen, September 25, 1782, and bishop in 1786. He took the principal part in transmitting the episcopal succession to America. It was with him that correspondence was opened by George Berkeley, subdean of Canterbury and son of the famous bishop of Cloyne, owing to the delay in the negotiations with the English hierarchy. Skinner became Primus in 1788 and died July 13, 1816. In anticipation of the

(*op. cit.*, pp. 253-76). He was also the author of 'Prayers used in the consecration of St. Andrew's chapel, Aberdeen, 1795' and of 'Forms of prayer and thanksgiving for particular occasions, to be used in the diocese of Aberdeen, according to the canons of the episcopal church in Scotland. Aberdeen. Printed by D. Chalmers and Co., 1812.' Both treatises are reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 310-36).

The edition of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments. . . . Edinburgh, Lendrum, 1849, put forth under the auspices of Patrick Torry, bishop of St. Andrews, was speedily condemned by the episcopal synod of Aberdeen, in April, 1850, as having neither synodical nor canonical authority and as not being what it purported to be. The bishop, very old and infirm at the time of its publication, was probably more than assisted by some of the younger clergy who had come fresh from England and influenced the reshaping of the rubrics considerably.

In 1863 the Scottish episcopal church adopted the English prayer book.

A few years ago, in 1912, a cautious revision of the prayer book and of the Scottish communion office was completed, and a 'schedule' approved, on behalf of the college of bishops of the episcopal church in Scotland, W. Brechin, Primus,<sup>1</sup> February 22, 1912, was published with the title, 'The Scottish liturgy for the

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approaching peace, Rev. Samuel Seabury (1729-1796) was elected on March 25, 1783, by the clergy of his native state, Connecticut, to be their bishop. He sailed for England soon after the preliminaries had been signed and arrived in London on July 7. The appeal of his diocese to the archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, which had been made for his consecration to the episcopate, was not successful because somewhat premature in its political bearings. After a year spent in fruitless negotiation, Seabury had recourse to the bishops of Scotland. He was consecrated on Sunday, November 14, 1784, in the chapel of Bishop Skinner's residence in Aberdeen by three Scottish bishops. Before leaving Scotland he signed a *concordat* with the Scottish bishops by which, among other items, he agreed to promote those restorations of the eucharistic liturgy which have since become the characteristic feature of the American Prayer Book, taken over by the General Convention of 1789, from Seabury's, Communion Office, 1786.

A succinct arrangement of the Scottish office of 1764 with Seabury's of 1786, and the American of 1892 may be seen in Procter-Frere's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 510-21.

<sup>1</sup> The most reverend Walter John Forbes Robberds, bishop of Brechin since 1904, and primus of the Scottish Episcopal church since 1908.

celebration of the Holy Eucharist and Administration of Holy Communion, commonly called the Scottish Communion Office. Cambridge. At the university press.' (2), 32 pp. 8vo. It is followed by part 2: 'Permissible additions to and deviations from the service books of the Scottish church as canonically sanctioned . . . . ' (2), 62 pp.

The schedule was followed, exactly a year later, by 'The Book of Common Prayer, . . . . According to the Use of the Church of England; . . . . and the Scottish Liturgy, and the Permissible additions to and Deviations from the Service Books of the Scottish Church, as canonically sanctioned. Cambridge. At the university press. 1913. lvi, 698 pp. 8vo. The new matter in this edition has been given in its intended place. Nothing could be more simple, less disturbing, or more effective, than the line in the left-hand margin which marks the new matter wherever it occurs.'<sup>1</sup>

'We do not doubt,' says the reviewer in *The Guardian*, March 14, 1913, p. 347, col. 2, 'that most of our readers will agree, that the greater part of the changes are such as we might be glad to have made permissible in England. Probably their chief criticism will be that our Northern brethren might very well have done rather more while they were about it.' But it must be kept in mind that in the Scottish liturgy 'there is no rubric dealing with the ornaments of the minister; and there is explicit permission to reserve the sacrament for the sick according to long-existing custom in the Scottish church. It is plain, therefore, that these were matters that could be left untouched. But we are still left to wonder why nothing was done with regard, let us say, to the rubric before the Athanasian Creed, or with the translation of the Psalter, or the much debated answer of deacons at their Ordination. . . . '<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The late Bishop John Dowden's great work on this revision of the Scottish liturgy is well and feelingly described by Bishop Anthony Mitchell in his *Biographical Studies in Scottish Church History* (1914), pp. 285-87.

<sup>2</sup> 'The reason was to avoid controversy. England was ill-advised to touch the Athanasian Creed at present, for the result is paralysis of all revision'; thus (Principal Perry, of Edinburgh, in a letter to the present writer, in which he further states that 'in reviewing the Prayer Book the Scottish Commissioners resolved to leave out all questions of theological import and to confine themselves to such alterations, as the Church was ripe for. The Athanasian Creed may come up later, but it would have been a mistake to risk the chance of any revision because of this. The English revision has been violently opposed on this ground and it is doubtful if anything will come of it.'

We have to congratulate the Scottish Church upon what has been achieved. We do this with a sense that it ought to be a real help and stimulus to ourselves.'

This new edition of the Scottish Prayer Book contains all the English Prayer Book and many additional collects in large type. It is practically indispensable now to the clergy of the Church of England, until they get their own supplementary Prayer Book.

A new distribution of the Psalter throughout the year, prepared by the committee appointed by the Scottish bishops and revised on June 17, 1915, has been issued from the Cambridge university press. It is a scheme formed on sound lines.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, further, *The Guardian* (March 30, 1916), p. 284, col. 4.